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ART. XV.—*Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems. With a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-Pehlvi Series of Persian Coins.* By EDWARD THOMAS, ESQ., Bengal Civil Service.

IN JUNE, 1839, I submitted to our Society a brief paper on the subject of the Pehlvi Legends occurring on the medals of the early Mohammedan conquerors of Persia. As the memoir in question was avowedly left incomplete, consequent upon my return to my duties in India, I have since uniformly cherished the hope of being able, at some future period, to remedy the defects and supply the deficiencies of my first essay. In this view, on my arrival in this country a few months since, I commenced collecting new materials, and rigidly examining my previous inferences and conclusions, trusting that I might eventually succeed in compiling a treatise more worthy of the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, than that which our Council had already complimented me by printing.

I, however, again find myself necessitated to bring my studies to a hasty conclusion, and for a similar reason, an event which I did not contemplate when I entered upon the present scheme of revision. Up to this moment I may say that I have done little or nothing towards advancing the inquiry, beyond accumulating fresh examples of the monograms representing the different mint cities of the Sassanian empire, and acquiring some few further illustrative specimens of the local currency of the Arabs in Persia prior to A.D. 76.

In pursuing the general palæographic question, I have latterly entered more fully upon the subordinate branch, embracing the contemporaneous system of writing in use on gems, seals, &c. Of these relics I have met with a considerable number of specimens, some of which contribute so much of novelty and variety in their leading devices and associate legends, that I have thought it advisable to append to the numismatic details which form the more prominent object of this note, a concise letterpress description of the former—aided by engravings of the more remarkable designs—together with written facsimiles of the latter, transferred by the anastatic process to the zinc plate, reproduced as pl. II.

I had originally some hesitation in coming before the public with the half-developed results of an intricate inquiry. I have now no

apology to offer; for I profess only to place before those who would interest themselves in the pursuit, a certain amount of unpublished materials I had collected for my own use, but which circumstances make it impossible for me to take immediate advantage of. At the same time I feel that the juncture is peculiarly auspicious for the contribution of any data that will aid in the elucidation of the capital question of the ancient philology of Central Asia, which is now attracting such deep attention in the learned world. And especially with reference to the doubts which are being raised as to the authenticity of the Zoroastrian languages, I would point to the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *prima facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications.

I would cite the universality of its influence throughout nearly the entire Persian empire; its employment as the vehicle of expression for the monumental records of the kings; its uniform official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire, and the geographical definition of its boundaries from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the S.W., to Merv and Zabolistan on the N.E., as manifested by the legends on the Arab coins issued within or near those limits.

But beyond this I would now exhibit its acceptance in the affairs of private life, as exemplified by the prevalence of its literal forms on the signets and seals of every-day use. And I would claim this much of deduction from the facts available, that whatever other forms of speech may have existed in the land, whatever of more perfect systems of writing may have been known or employed, it is clear that the seventeen letters of the Pehlvi alphabet sufficed to express all that either official routine or ordinary business transactions required.



From our inscriptions and coins we can fix with precision the date of the currency of this style of writing, and unhesitatingly claim its dominance in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76. Our new authorities, the gems, do not of themselves similarly define their own epoch; but we may hope, by testing the forms of the alphabet, and observing closely other significant indications, to fix approximately their place in history.

However, beyond their Palæographic value, these incidental records of past civilization possess a merit peculiarly their own, as the unprepared contributions of scattered individuals, which were neither designed by their original owners to meet the eye of the general public of contemporaneous existence, nor the inquisition of inquiring posterity,—standing in this respect in strong contrast to the more

public memorials exhibited by the current money, or the imperial self-laudation of the inscriptions,—here, each specimen represents the offering of a separate unit of the national family, his favourite emblem typified in his chosen device, his name, title, hope, or creed, exemplified in the legend which encircles his adopted symbol. As the signet of the king in its degree, these seals were equally of import in the estimation of those subordinate members of the Eastern race, in whose social code their stamp implied so much. Our collection, then, under one view of the seals and signets of men separated possibly by distance of time and place—united for us simply by one bond—the use of the same language—cannot fail to present us with ample matter for reflection.

I forbear to enlarge upon the subject in its present crude state, and in conclusion of these few introductory words, I would repeat, once for all, that in the present paper I put forth no matured solutions. I pretend to no enunciation of theories, though I offer problems without number to those who would seek to exercise their ingenuity in this department of Oriental archaeology. But if perchance I write an introduction approaching to anything like a demonstration, it is upon the necessity of the case, that I would in all honesty communicate all I have learnt to those who may use it better.

ALPHABETS.

I have but few remarks to add to my former observations regarding the Pehlvi Alphabets, except, indeed, to admit the probability of the letter  being, what Mr. Norris from the first asserted it to be, a long *ی*. My former objections to accepting this identification were chiefly founded on the fact that among the three vowels, which were all that the ancient Pehlvi could boast of, that alphabet already possessed a clearly-defined *ی* []; and that in the manifest paucity of vowel-signs, so imperfect a literal series would be unlikely to elaborate the nice distinction implied in the use of a second or long vowel *ی*. The Persian Cuneiform possessed but one alphabetical *ی*; and the orthographical systems of the neighbouring Semitic languages were alike deficient in any distinguishing power whereby to express in writing the modified sounds of this vowel. I, however, observe that when the Parsi dialect came to be embodied in the more copious

Zend alphabet, full use was made of the two vowels 𐬵 = *i*, and 𐬶 = *ī*; besides the irregular employment 𐬭 = *ē*, 𐬮 = *è*, and 𐬯 = *ê*.¹ Moreover, singular to say, the long *i*, as fashioned in the Zend type cut in Germany, exactly realizes the original outline of our debateable lapidary character.

Accepting, then, this letter as an (𐬵) *i* long, let us for a moment examine how it will read in the well-defined words of the Sassanian-Pehlvi Inscriptions we are able to select for trial. Do Sacy's much-discussed word 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀, which he interpreted as *Boman*, will, under these terms, express in modern Persian the combination 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀. This rendering is so far fully borne out by the corresponding word in the collateral Tablet of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, which proves to be literally identical, or 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀, *the son of* (𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 *Chald. filius*).

The letter in question is of pretty frequent occurrence in the Bilingual Hâjî-Âbâd Inscription; but in the Trilingual Records at Naksh-i-Rustam, Naksh-i-Rajab, and in the Sassanian tablets at Tâk-i-Bostân, it appears but rarely; generally only in the abovo-quoted word, and as the third letter of the word 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 (𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀) in the opening passage in each legend.²

The character is not found on Sassanian medals, but it is employed, singularly enough, on the coins of the sub-Kings of Persia of the Arsacidan period, and is associated in the same term 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 with its fellow Sassanian form of the letter 𐬵 B, in the presence of the


¹ The 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 being represented by 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀, and the 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 being expressed by 𐬵. See Spiegel's *Grammatik der Pârsisprache*. Leipzig, 1851.

² The majority of these Inscriptions commence thus—

𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀

which is translated in the Greek ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΜΗΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ; or, in other cases, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΜΗΟΝ.—See De Sacy's *Mém. sur div. Ant. de la Perse*; Ker Porter; Rich's *Babylon*, &c. I may add, that the third letter in the Hâjî-Âbâd plaster cast is decidedly a 𐬵.

M. Louis Dubeux reads this 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀.—See *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, p. 650.

undoubted Chaldeo-Pehlvi characters which compose the remainder of the coin-legend ; so that the word would seem to have been borrowed in all its integrity of literal outline, and incorporated with the foreign letters of the inscription in the sister alphabet. The figure  is to be seen at times on the Sassanian gems, though it occurs as an exceptional case rather than as a letter of frequent requirement.

Another palæographic difficulty that is still incompletely explained is the origin and progress of the several interchanges of the associate letters R and L. The two extremities of the chain of evidence which extends over the 409 years of the Sassanian domination in Persia, present us with a combination of contrasts. In the one case of the Numismatic Alphabetical signs, the joint symbol, which, in the commencement, served to express both R and L, is, in process of time, entirely got rid of, and a totally different character is assigned to this double duty. In the second case of the contemporaneous Lapidary Alphabet, we start in the possession of two independent letters, representing the different phonetic powers of R and L. After the lapse of a little more than a century and a half, the evidence of inscriptions fails us ; but, singular to say, a lapidary character is adopted into the numismatic literal series, and becomes in time the sole repository of the two sounds, one only of which it was originally competent to emblemize.

I am not prepared to theorise upon the causes of these changes ; but as the early Sassanian coins, which I have lately examined in detail for other objects, contribute several new items illustrative of the gradual transfers, I propose to sum up in one brief view all the data that bear upon the question.

No. 1.—Naksh-i-Rustam.

2 = 7 *Chald.*, in Artahshatr, Arián, Minúchatrí, Barí, &c.

2 = 5 *Chald.*, in Malká.

No. 2.—Naksh-i-Rajab.

2 = 7 *Chald.*, and P *Greek*, in Shahpúharí, Artahshatr, Arián ;
and 7 *Chald. only*, in Barí, Minúchatrí.

2 = 5 *Chald.*, in Malká.

No. 3.—Hájí-ábád.

2 = 7
2 = 5 } *Chald.*, as in No. 2.

No. 4.—Kirmánsháh.

2 = R in Shahpúhur, Narsehí, Aúharmazdí, Barí.

𐬔 = L in Mašká.

𐬔 = R(?) in Aírán, Minuchatri.¹

Next in order, let us trace the use of these letters on the Imperial Sassanian coins.

At the commencement of the series a character shaped like the lapidary 2 did duty for both R and L.² The first clearly-defined 𐬔³ that we meet with, occurs on the reverse of a coin of Varahrán II. (277, 294 A.D.),⁴ but the obverso legend uses the 2 throughout, in accordance with previous custom; and the money of succeeding monarchs equally adheres to the standard numismatic form of this symbol of many sounds.

The next appearance of the 𐬔 is on a most interesting medal of Hormuzdas II.⁵ (303—310 A.D.), lately brought to this country by

¹ De Sacy, *Mem. sur div. Ant.*; Ker Porter, *Travels*; Malcolm's *Persia*; Boré, *Jour. Asiat.* XI.; Dubeux, ditto, 1843; Rich's *Babylon*, &c.

² And also for 𐬔, &c.; but I keep these out of sight to simplify the main argument.

³ Having given introductory facsimiles, I shall now use the type Pehlvi 𐬔 for L, and 2 for R.

⁴ See note to mint No. 24.

⁵ For facility of reference, I annex a list of the Sassanian monarchs—

	A.D.		A.D.
1. Ardeshr Bábigan	226	17. Fíróz	458
2. Shapúr I.	240	18. Vologeses	484
3. Hormuzdas I.	273	19. Kobád	488
4. Varahrán I.	274	20. Jamasp	498
5. „ II.	277	— Kobád (again)	502
6. „ III. (<i>Segán Sháh</i>)	294	21. Khusrú I. (<i>Noshirwán</i>)	531
7. Narses	294	22. Hormuzdas IV.	579
8. Hormuzdas II.	303	23. Varahrán VI.	590
9. Shapúr II. (<i>Zu'taktaf</i>)	310	24. Khusrú II. (<i>Parvís</i>)	591
10. Ardeshr	381	25. Siroes	628
11. Shapúr III.	385	26. Ardeshr	...
12. Varahrán IV. (<i>Kermán Sháh</i>)	390	27. Purán-dokht	...
13. Yazdegird I.	404	29. Azermi-dokht	...
14. Varahrán V. (<i>Gour</i>)	420	30. Kesra	...
15. Yazdegird II.	448	31. Ferokhzád	...
16. Hormuzdas III.	458	32. Yazdegird III.	killed in 651

of which are distinguished from the initial or medial form of the letter in their respective series.

The contrast is not so uniformly marked in the ancient Pehlvi, but we have ample evidence to show that the system was fully recognised, and extensively taken advantage of; indeed, it may be said that one of the great imperfections of the early Semitic schemes of writing, in which the Pehlvi participates, was the inability to mark the division of words, the necessity of which is shown by the methods subsequently adopted to attain this end, by means of discriminating forms of the same character. The Pehlvi itself seems indirectly to have effected this object, but to a limited extent, by supplementing one of its own letters; which, however satisfactory to the practised eyes of those who familiarly employed the language, offers a very serious obstruction to the progress of modern students.

The indication of the final **ج**, as I have observed it, consists merely in what might be called a forward movement in writing *over* the fixed line of characters; whereas, the **ج** initial and medial was formed by a semicircular stroke downwards in the ordinary run of the onward course of the other letters. This is unquestionably the case in the most reliable monument we have to quote from—the plaster cast of the Hâjî-âbâd Sassanian Pehlvi, for which we are indebted to Sir E. Stannus, wherein the words are intentionally separated,¹ so that the final declares itself in each instance without reference to any modern reading or interpretation. On the gems a similar system is adhered to, though not in such obvious uniformity; but I may quote a seemingly striking example in the opening word of No. 19.

In the Coin Alphabets, again, we are altogether thrown out of consecutive reasoning by the discrepancy of the early numismatic writing; but in the very commencement, strange to say, some of the final **ج**'s partake of the outline of modern days²; while others exemplify the over-hand style we are now remarking upon.³ Again, when lapidary letters begin to appear on the coinage of the country, we once more recognise the influence of the system, which continues with more or less absolutism, and always liable to provincial variations, until after the reign of Fîrôz, subsequent to which we merge easily into the modern practice.

¹ As examples, I cite the finals in Shalpuhurî, Bagî, Pâpekî; the initials and medials in Mazdân, Iran, &c.

² Coins of Ardeschîr. Longpérier, I. 3. *Rev.* in **سپهبد**.

³ *Ibid.* I. 2.

As the comparative alphabet of this Pehlvi fount has been inserted in a different volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society to that in which the present paper is about to appear, I reprint the entire list of characters, for facility of reference; taking the opportunity of amending any errors or omissions discovered since the first impression.

MODERN PEHLVI.

1	ه	ا	A	12	و	ك	K
2	ر	ب	B	13	ق	گ	G
3	م	ت	T	14	ل	ل	L
4	د	ج	J	15	ف	م	M
5	ند or س	خ	KH	16	ا	ن	N
6	ؤ	د	D	17	ا	و	W
7	ل	ر	R	18	ه	ه	H
8	س	ز	Z	19	ي	ي	Y
9	د or د	س	S	20	چ	چ	CH
10	ش	ش	SH	21	پ	پ	P
11	غ	غ	GH	22	اي	اي	AI

COMMUTABLE SOUNDS IN MODERN PERSIAN.

1	ه ا ه	ع خ ح { ^{A, H, H,} KH, Ain	9	و	ك	K	
2	ر	ب	B	10	ف	م	M
3	م	ذ ث ت	T, TH, Z	11	ا	و or ن	N or W
4	ل	ل ر	R or L	12	و	{when pointed, answers to ج, گ, د, ي	
5	س	ز	Z	13	چ	{CH, convertible as ص, ز, ئ	
6	د	س	S	14	پ	or ف, P or F	
7	ش	ش	SH				
8	غ	غ	GH				

COMPOUNDS.

1	ه	ا	5	ه	يم	9	ل	رن
2	ه	اپ and اچ	6	م	ان	10	م	ات
3	ل	رچ	7	م	ين	11	م	يت
4	ه	ام	8	ه	من	12	ل	رت

NUMERALS.

The table of numbers, given at p. 276, (vol. XII.) of my previous paper, has been tested and verified as far as the means within my reach have admitted. The readings of the Aramaic unit numbers are fully confirmed, as are those of the various Persian numbers already quoted. I have, however, some variants to notice.

The unit prefixes to the tens, twenties, &c., are pretty constant in the following:—

ܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	1
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	2
ܕܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	3
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	}	4
ܕܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ		
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	5
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	7
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	8

But these are all liable to abbreviation, by the rejection of one or more of their concluding letters, in their conjunction with the decimal term. So that we have

ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	81
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	52
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	73
We have also an Eastern provincial variant in the form of				
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	63
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	64
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	45
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	17
ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	ܕܝܠܐܝܝܐ	=	18

The number *sixteen* I find expressed by $\text{شزده} = \text{شده}$, as well as by $\text{شازده} = \text{شده}$. This so far differs from the Sassanian

$$\text{شش و بیست} = \text{شش و بیست} = 26$$

$$\text{شش و سی} = \text{شش و سی} = 36$$

and the uniform شش prefix, under Arab treatment.

The unit *nine*, in combination, presents itself under many forms, varying from $\text{نوز} = \text{نوز}$, $\text{نه} = \text{نه}$, $\text{نو} = \text{نو}$, $\text{نوه} = \text{نوه}$ to the $\text{ناو} = \text{ناو}$ of the later Arab governors.

I have already remarked that it was the occasional practice to introduce a $\text{و} = \text{و}$ to connect the unit and the decimal, as $\text{چهار و ده} = \text{چهار و ده} = 14$.

The abbreviation of the entire date is again often effected by the omission of the commencement of the word expressing the decimal number. This should not, under ordinary circumstances, create much difficulty; but the combinations at times are sufficiently perplexing, when the introductory unit happens to be imperfectly defined.

SASSANIAN MINTS.

In introducing the following list of the Sassanian mint-monograms, which in effect amounts to little more than a bare alphabetical enumeration of their component letters, I have a few remarks to offer in further explanation of the limited results I have confined myself to.

I have elsewhere stated some of the obstacles attending any endeavour satisfactorily to appropriate these mint-marks, and effectively to solve the enigma presented in the abbreviation of the full name into the syllable which formed its commencement; but it would seem as if the deeper we advanced in the study, the less assured we felt of our most elaborate demonstrations.

We have in effect to combat step by step the difficulties inherent in an unascertained nomenclature; an indeterminate and often inter-

changeable orthography; the imperfection of the alphabet employed; and, lastly, the abbreviation, which adds so materially to the existing incertitude in leaving the given letters applicable to many different places whose names had an initial sound in common.

I am aware that I might have suggested many identifications that might have borne the light, and stood the test of present criticism, merely because there was nothing to be said against them; but I should myself be but little satisfied with this more conjectural appropriation; and therefore prefer putting forth my materials almost uncommented upon, rather than waste time—where I had nothing more to show—in the mere mechanical process of assigning to each monogram parallel initial letters from the geographical lists of Oriental authors.

An examination of the series of the coins of the Sassanian dynasty, shows us that the kings of that race did not commence to distinguish their local coinages by the inscription of the names of the different mints, until the reign of Hormuzdas II. (303-310 A.D.)

At this time, the practice seems to have been but partially followed; and it is only with Varahrán IV. (390-404 A.D.) that the custom became general, and, with his successor Yezdegird I., fell into the routine, subsequently followed throughout in the kingdom up to the date of the Arab supercession of the fire-worship coinage, in A.D. 76.

With the last-named monarch only, did these records settle themselves into the particular position on the coin, to the right of the device, which subsequently became their recognised receptacle. For some time after the establishment of this modification, the corresponding space to the extreme left of the field continued to be appropriated generally to the repetition of the name of the king; and it is only with Firóz that a new improvement is introduced by assigning this corner to the exhibition of the date of the year of issue. As these dates, however, have reference merely to the year of the reign of the monarch on whose money they are impressed, they but little advantage the historian, though they offer us certain minor points of interest, which I need not here enlarge upon.

GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.—PEHLVI MINTS.

No. 1. $\text{هـ} = \text{هـ} - \text{هـ} ?$ *Unique*.—This mint-mark¹ occurs on a single coin, similar to that figured as No. 4, Pl. IX. in M. de Longperier's "Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses."²

¹ In order to avoid repetition in future references, I cite in full in this place the editions of the various geographical works I am likely to quote in the course of my examination of the Sassanian mints.

1. Liber Climatum, auctore Scheicho Abu-Ishako el-Faresi, vulgo El-Istaheri. *Facsimile Arabic text.* J. H. Moeller. Gotha, 1839.

2. Géographie d'Edrisi, par P. Amédée Jaubert. Paris, 1836.

3. YAKUTI'S Lexicon Geographicum, cui titulus est مراصد الاطلاع , e duobus Codicibus MSS. Arabice editum. Ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Lugduni Batavorum. 1852. (In course of publication).

4. EL-CAZWINI'S *Kosmographie* $\text{كتاب عجائب الملوقات}$. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1847-9.

5. Géographie d'Aboulféda. Texte Arabe. Par MM. Reinaud et De Slane. Paris, 1840.

² I am not disposed to concur in M. de L.'s assignment of this medal to Feroz. I dissent both on simple numismatic typical grounds, and on the still more decisive argument of interpretation of legends. The former question need not detain us here; but as regards the latter, I may observe that the supposed name on the reverse is not susceptible, even from the specimen described, of transcription as Feroz: it might possibly be made into ملوك or تروك ; but these would be scarcely satisfactory readings.

We have four specimens of this type of coin in the British Museum: the obverse trilateral legend is seemingly uniform in all, and may be represented in modern character by وسپ . The Reverses are as follows—

<p>A ملم = 2. هـ Mint No. 40.</p>	<p>C سدود = ? س Mint No. 8.</p>
<p>B ملم = 3. هـ Mint No. 1.</p>	<p>D سدود = سدر هـ Mint No. 10.</p>

The two latter examples probably give the correct orthography of the Paris medal, though the outline given in the Plate might answer for ملم . I myself should be disposed to render the doubtful word as

سدود — 10: عشرة for اسري —

but that I am aware I have no justification for taking any such liberty with my materials, as in this case the French engraving, and what remains of the penultimate letter on the third specimen now quoted, equally confirm the value of that character as $\text{هـ} = \text{ك}$.

No. 2. سب = در, possibly اب = س. *Common.*

No. 3. افر = نر, &c.—I have met with only two examples of this monogram: one is to be found on a coin of Hormuzdas IV., in the possession of N. Bland, Esq.; the other on a Khusrú II., dated An 4, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Arab Mints p, q, r, *infra*.

No. 4. ات = ش or ش.—I distinguish this monogram from the ست = دم of No. 27, in virtue of the two very clear examples I have transcribed in the plate. They occur, the one on a coin of Firoz, in Mr. Bland's cabinet; the other on a coin of Kobád, in the same collection; and they offer the sole instances I am able to quote of these letters being found inscribed in the space on the reverse, at this period uniformly assigned to mint records. The combined letters appear constantly on the earlier coins of Varahrán IV. and Yezdegird I., as abbreviation of the word *آهروزی* *سزاد*,¹ which itself, as well as its trilateral representative *سز* and still more curtailed form *س*, frequently occupies a place to the left of the area, subsequently formally appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint city.

There are, however, decided objections to admitting that the word *سزاد* itself was used on these occasions to indicate any site of coinage, as it takes the place held by the word *نورازی* = *نورسز* [Ar. *ناوس* Per. *ناوس*],² on the earliest fire-worship coins, and replaces the word *راستی* = *راست*³ in the same position, above the altar, on that type of Varahrán IVth coins which revert to the original reverse design of Ardeshr Bábek's medals,⁴ where the fire-altar stands alone, unsupported by the usual ministering Mobeds. Add to this, on the common coins of Yezdegird II. *Aturi* is inscribed on the extremo left of the reverse, behind the figure of the

¹ آذر or آذر *Fire.*

² *Ferhang-i-Jehangiri*, *ناوس آتشکده* باشد

³ Mordtmann wishes to read this word as *روستاق* (p. 88.)

⁴ Longpérier, Plates I. and II. Mordtmann, *loco cit.* p. 88.

Mobed, in the space hitherto invariably devoted to the exhibition of the name of the king; here again it alternates with the term یزدکرت (نردک) or اور (نردک), and the proper name یزدکرت = یزدکرت ; while the peculiar mint space in the two former instances encloses the letters س , or the mint-mark numbered 8 in the Plate. And, lastly, on the ordinary coins of Varabhrán IV., where the abbreviations س or س are placed to the right of the altar and of the supporting figure; or as the legends *read* in the last line, on the reverse, we find the mint monograms س No. 5,¹ and س No. 32, inserted in other parts of the field.

No. 5. س = س .

No. 6. س = س .—This monogram is unique on a coin of Hormuzdas IV., dated Ann. 12. If the single specimen has given us the correct form of the concluding character, we have here the solitary instance yet discovered of the use of the letter س = س in the old Pehlvi of coins, gems, or inscriptions.

No. 7. س = س .—This example also stands alone, and has been met with only on a coin of Khusrú I., Ann 37, of the Masson collection.

No. 8. س = س .—I discriminate this mint from that classed under No. 9, with which it might possibly be associated as an abbreviation, because I have, on the one part, undoubted evidence of the value of the initial as a Sassanian س = س , س , as it occurs under its normal form in the mint monogram on coins of Yezdegird II., in the presence of several Pehlvi س 's = س , س , which exhibit the usual distinguishing outline of that character, in other parts of the legends on the same piece. On the other hand, I have corresponding data to prove that the initial in No. 9 is an س = س , س , in opposition to س = س , س , as may be seen from the facsimile of this mint-mark engraved in Pl. II. fig. 16, Vol. XII. J. R. A. S.

¹ Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. xiv. 15.

² Longpérier, Pl. VIII. fig. I.

The interchange of the Pehlvi $\text{𐭮} = \text{هو}$ and the Sanscrit सु or षु , has been sufficiently proved by Rawlinson, x. 90, &c., which will itself account for the Greek $\sigma\omicron\sigma\alpha$ سوس سوس (R. xi. 88), and gives us in our Pehlvi mint-mark the correct initial of the local orthography of the capital of Susiana. It remains to decide upon the applicability of 𐭮 to represent the true phonetic value of the concluding consonant of the old name. That there was much uncertainty in the method of *writing* this final, as well perhaps as in *pronouncing* it, among the proximate tribes, is proved by the variants still extant, as "Uraj" (Cuneiform $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎧} = \text{J-R. xi. 87}$), "Huz" (R., *ibid.* note ³), هوجستان. هوز .

I have then to justify the reading of $\text{𐭮} = \text{ث}$, strictly ت , as a sound approximate to ز , ج or س . As an example peculiarly applicable, I cite the word برث ^{برث} *Arabic*, "Mons consistens arena molli" (Freytag), which gives the true orthography of *Birs* in Birs-i-Nimrūd (Borsippa).² Here we have the *Arabic th* distinctly enunciated and passed into use with the proper *Persian* mode of pronunciation, as *S*; may we not therefore, justly assume a similar vulgar use of the $\text{𐭮} = \text{ث}$ in the instance under review?


Since the above was actually in type, the illustrative plate duly transferred, and all presently available evidence collated, a handful of Sassanian coins,—rejected duplicates from the collection of Colonel Rawlinson,—has been sent to me for examination. Singular to say, among the number I find one, which, if I mistake not, bears a modified form of the identical mint-monogram we are now occupied upon. The discovery is important, as, assuming the new monogram to represent the place of coinage, elsewhere expressed by هوشت , we have a variant

et regio ipsa (quæ Chuzistan) est ܚܘܙܝܬܐ Both-Huzdye, locus Huzeorum." et hodiè dicuntur *Chuzæi*, seu, ut Assyrii scribunt, *Huzæi*. Ista est urbs quæ in SS. Bibliis vocatur ܗܘܙܐܢ , *Gozan*, minus rectè, pro Persico خوزان .

Abulfeda, l^{re} II. Ouseley, 2, 72. Rawlinson, pp. 87, xi. J. R. A. S.

¹ Ouseley, pp. 73, 76.

² Rawlinson, xii. 436.

in the orthography, proving the applicability of the very articulation I was contending for. Certain it is that the facsimile I now give [] reads most distinctly *هوج*, *هوج*, or *هوز*, otherwise *خوز*: whether it shall eventually be classed as a variant of the leading mint-sign under consideration, or whether it may claim an independent identity, is a matter I leave for future determination; but for the present I advocate the former opinion.

Nos. 10 and 11. *ه* = *ه*; *ه* = *ه*.—I am inclined to class these two monograms under one and the same head, looking upon No. 10 as the older sign, which I find only on the coins of Firoz and Kobád: whereas No. 11 appears first on the money of Khusrú I., and is thereafter constant under its trilateral form.

Nos. 12 and 13, *ه* = *ه*; *ه* = *ه*; and *ه* = *ه*, may, I think, likewise be associated under one heading; the two latter being apparently optional elongations of the original *ه*, which is first seen on the money of Varahrán V.

No. 14. *ه* = *ه*.—This monogram represents a mint whose locale I am specially anxious to identify. As yet I am by no means satisfied with my attempts in that direction; but such information as I have, I put forth with all its imperfection. It has been attempted to fix this monogram as the index of the city of Babylon—the obvious reading naturally tempted the notion; but we have a corrective to hasty guessing in the records on the coins of our Arab governors, which, taken in connexion with the historical data indicating the circle of government held by each, properly circumscribe the geographical limits beyond which we must not stray in search of a fitting local correspondent for our coin-endorsed mints.

The combination *ه*, in its more modern form, occurs on the coins of two governors only in the entire Arabico-Pehlvi series—those of Selim bin Zíád and Abdallah bin Házim: the former, it is true, seems to have possessed at times certain westerly provinces. Abdallah bin Házim's association, as an independent ruler, was simply with the eastern division of the empire of the Khalifs, and it is on this side alone, therefore, that we must look for any mint he inscribes on his coins. The first facsimile given under No. 14 represents the outline the mint mark displays on its first appearance in its

present form on a coin of Feroz. The sketch of the second example is taken from the money of Selim bin Ziád; and the third figure, which I doubtfully place in the same category, obtains on the earlier medals of Varahrán IV. and Yezdegird I.

I was at one time inclined to look upon the monogram as representing the Pehlvi word ¹ببا, and, as such, to connect it with the Arabic باب, and to expect to find that it referred to some frontier "city of a pass;" such a system of nomenclature being common enough at no great distance to the westward. I then tested the question as to whether the combination should be read as بجم; and previous to my discovery of the undoubted *l* final on the earlier medals of the Sassanians, I was disposed to adopt the city of بون otherwise بئنه,² as the town indicated by this perplexing mint-mark. I have for the present, however, arrived at a much less interesting conclusion, namely, that the monogram expresses the name of a mere suburb or quarter of the city of Merv, of whose own

ببا با اول مفتوح در خاندره كويند

Ferhang-i-Jehangiri, Pehlvi Vocabulary.

¹من اللباب قال و باذغيس بليدات و قري كثيرة و مزارع
بنواي هراة و قصبته باميين و قيل انها كانت دارمملكة
الهياطلة و قيل في بالجمية باد خيز لكثرة الرياح بها فعرب
و قيل باذغيس و من بلاد باذغيس بون قال في اللباب بفتح
الباء الموحدة و سكوب الواد و في آخرها نون قال و يقال
لبون بئنة ايضاً ببابين موحدين الاولى مفتوحة و
الثانية ساكنة قال و هي مدينه بباذغيس عبد باميين المذكورة

Abulfeda, POP

" * * * Boun is one of the towns of Bazghees. * * * The author of this work says further: for Boun they write Bubnut likewise, with two single ba's, the first with a *futteh*, and the second *sakin*; and he adds, this is a city in Bazghees, near the said Bameeyun."

See also Merásid-ul-Ittelá, in voce بون; and Istakhri, p. 112:

و من هراة الي بجمه مرحلتان و من بئته الي كدف مرحله

proper mint-produce we have already so abundant a supply. I base my conclusion to this effect upon the following passage from the *Murásid-ul-Ittilá*:—

ببارن تثنية¹ باب باي ببارن محله بانسل مرو

I must not close this note without adding, that if the first and second examples given among the facsimiles under No. 14 are to be disconnected from the third form, now doubtfully classed with them, it will be necessary to seek for an independent site for the city represented by the monogram last in order.

In this case, the letters composing this mint index must be examined under their own separate configurations, and we must inquire whether they may not bear a different interpretation to that obviously pertaining to the better defined characters of the more modern **رند**. A reference to the earlier Sassanian coins of Varahrán V. and Yazdegird I., whereon the third outline chiefly occurs, discloses the fact that the opening letters of the word **رند** = **رني** = **رنگي**, which is constant in the principal legend on the obverse, are identical, under their imperfect expression, with the two characters which commence the mint-monogram. I notice more prominently this palpable degradation of the old Pehlvi letter **گ**, as it is a literal sign that is subsequently lost sight of,—so completely indeed, that its very existence has been questioned.

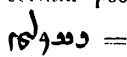
If the incomplete fashioning of the one letter of ascertained value in a word on a given piece, is to be taken as a test of the functions pertaining to a similarly designed character in another part of the medal, the mint-mark in question might possibly be rendered **رند** = **رنگ**; but I must confess myself unprepared to adopt this orthography.

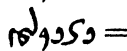
No. 15 exhibits under one number three apparent varieties of the same monogram, though we may possibly find reason to separate the concluding form from its two associates. The sign placed third in the present order I judged to stand as an abbreviation of the name of Busrah²; but if I am to recognise the identity of the three mint-marks now quoted, I must abandon this position indefinitely, inasmuch as the two leading outlines occur severally on monies of Khusru I.

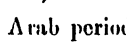
باباي باباي L

² Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. 327.

and Hormuzdas IV., both of whom, as we know, died many years before even the foundations of the Arab city were laid. Supposing these two leading signs, however, to represent a different mint, let us examine the claims of the third and similar figures to symbolize the mint of Busrah. The example in question is found upon a piece which has not hitherto been described, and which presents us with certain peculiarities in the affiliating name which reads *Yeskerd*

 = *یسکرت* as distinguished from the old style of

 = *یودکرت*, or the orthography in use elsewhere during the

Arab period, of  = *یزکرت*.¹ The coin purports to have

been minted in the year 19 (*نوزده* = *اچود*), and is totally deficient in the usual *بسم الله* or any sign of Moslem intervention; but this need not deter us from accepting it as an issue under Arab auspices. If there is nothing positive, there is equally nothing negative, upon the point; and if other arguments should hereafter lead us to admit that the two characters which compose the doubtful monogram were designed to express the initial letters of the name of Busrah, we may very reasonably adjudge this piece to have been coined in the mint of the southern metropolis, under the government of Abu-Mousa-al-Ashgari. The next occasion upon which this mint-mark is met with is on the coins of Abdulrahman, A.H. 52, whose legends are figured under No. XVI. Pl. III., Vol. XII. p. 346, Jour. Rl. As. Soc., and fig. I. Pl. I. accompanying. In this position it leads us very naturally to the more fully developed name that obtains uniformly in and after the year 55 A.H.,² from which date *ب* is engraved in all legible completeness.

No. 16. *بز* = *بزر*.—We do not meet with this monogram previous to the reign of Khusrú I. I am not altogether satisfied that the initial letter is a *ب*; but judging from the best outlines I am able to refer to, this letter represents the preferable reading, though in the parallel case of No. 24, whose early formation proves its later alphabetical value, the most modern examples of the initial R assimilate closely to the expression given to many specimens of the opening character of the mint under notice.

Supposing the value of the B to be admitted, the city indicated

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. p. 280.

² Coin of Ziad, No. 6, p. 288, Vol. XII., *et seq.*

might possibly be associated with the Sassanian' **بسا** (فسا), only that we do not well know when the town lost its ancient name of Rameshasan (**رامشاسان**); otherwise, the interchange of the second consonant would matter but little.

No. 17. **بو** = **ل**.—I have seen but one specimen of the monogram copied under No. 17, and that occurs on a rudely-fashioned, deeply-impressed coin of Varahrán V., with a reverse similar to those figured by M. de Longpérier as VIII. 5, IX. 5.

The letters which compose the other legends of the coin, though coarse, are sufficiently intelligible. On the obverse may be read

ورهران ملكا = ولسلم كالود

On the reverse $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ور} \\ \text{ل} \end{array} \right. = \text{Varahrán.}$

I may remark, with a view to settle definitively the value of the second letter of the mint-mark, that it corresponds in form with the opening character of the king's name on the obverse: the reverse **ل** = **و** is not so perfectly preserved.

No. 18. **دیش** = **دیش** for Boiza. I have had no reason to modify my first interpretation of this mint-mark.

No. 19. **فر دیر** = **فر**, &c.—It has been proposed to read these letters as conveying the commencement of the word Pars (Persia Proper). There is, however, a fatal objection to this conclusion, in the fact that, whatever irregularities in orthographical expression may have obtained in Pehlvi, in the interchange of approximately homophonous consonants, it was not the custom to omit the vowels, which performed far too important a function to be dispensed with at will. Now Persia is uniformly written in its own languages with a long A,² as (Cuneiform) *Pársa*,³ (Pehlvi) **پارس**, (Persian) **پارس**; and in no case of abbreviation of names or mint-indices have I

¹ Abulfeda, p. ۳۳۰. Mohl, *Mojmel Al Tawárikh*, Jour. Asiat. XI. 333.

² The Pehlvi **د** is really *ā*, as the Zend **د** is *ái* in the former alphabet.

³ Rawlinson, X. 119.

observed any process other than what might be called a rejection upwards of an indeterminate number of letters, the commencement of the word in each case being scrupulously preserved in all its original integrity.

No. 20. $\text{د} = \text{د}$ (Darabgerd).—I adhere most unreservedly to my first identification of this mint city: it appears as early as the reign of Feroz among the list of Sassanian mints, and, to judge by the specimens extant, must have contributed freely to the currency of the kingdom.

No. 21. $\text{د} = \text{دل}$ or در .—This mint must not be confounded with the $\text{د} = \text{کر}$ of No. 32. It occurs too often, and with too great distinctness of outline, to leave a doubt about the correct decipherment: its application to any fixed locality is a question for the future.

No. 22. $\text{د} = \text{دینان}$ or دیوان .—This word occurs but twice in the entire Sassanian series. It occupies the section of the coin at this time permanently devoted to the reception of the mint-monogram, and is to be seen only on two coins of Kobad, now in the British Museum.

No. 23. $\text{د} = \text{رام}$.—This is a very rare monogram. I have observed only two instances of its use, on the coins of Hormuzdas IV. and Khusrû II. respectively.

I have already (XII. 328) suggested its applicability to Rām Hormuz, or any of the "Rests" of olden days. I may add that رامهرمزد اردشیر was specially abbreviated into رامز ¹.

No. 24. $\text{د} = \text{د}$.—The true form and intent of the initial in this monogram are fortunately proved for us by the early specimens of its outline still extant, which, as has been already remarked (XII. 278), in their more exact adherence to the recognised literal forms of the Rock Alphabets, afford us very valuable tests of the correctness of the interpretations proposed for the later examples of the same sign expressed in modified and less accurately defined characters. I imagine I am able to detect still earlier examples of the associate

¹ *Mojmel Al Tawárikh*, Jour. Asiat. VII. 274.

characters of this mint-mark than those I have copied in the plate, which, if their identity be sustained, will contribute enlarged means for the verification of the name of the mint-city, by supplying us with an additional or third letter.

On a coin of Varahrán V. I observe the letters $\text{لدي} = \text{ل د ي}$ inscribed on that portion of the reverse field, to the left of the altar-flame, where we have already seen so many monograms of other cities inserted, previous to the special appropriation of the space on the extreme right to the reception of these records.

Ascending still higher in the scale of dates, we find on the reverse of a new medal of Varahrán II., of the type figured by M. de Longpérier as IV. 4, the following legend—

I isolate the word or name of لدي in this legend, not only because it agrees with the same trilateral word on Varahrán V.'s coin, but for a reason I am much prepared to rely on in certain cases, though I confess to its being an argument as yet unconceded, viz., that the و preceding and the و concluding the word are both shaped as finals.¹

I have called attention in another place to the peculiarity displayed by this coin in offering the first known instance of the numismatic use of the heretofore strictly lapidary character ل , to which, in this case, I assign, as the preferable rendering, the sound of L.

No. 25. $\text{لم} = \text{ريو}$ or ليو represents one of the most prolific mints of the Sassano-Persian empire: from the reign of Fíróz to the extinction of the dynasty its forms recur with sufficient frequency, and are marked in their onward progress by the alphabetical modifications indicated in the order of the four examples reproduced in the plate.

No. 26. $\text{كد} = \text{زوي}$, زني , زوب —I have but one original from which to quote this mint-mark—an undated coin of Khusrú Parviz.

¹ See also Gem 56, *infra*, and note on Alphabets, p. 379.

No. 27. **سنت دم**.—The mint indicated by the initial letters *Sat* claims our interest under the double aspect of the uniform succession of its issues from the days of Firóz to the Arab conquest, and its retention as a place of coinage by the Mohammadans after their acquisition of the country.

Its produce bears record of the Khiláfat of "the servant of God" (*Yezid*), in A.H. 63; and subsequently, under the mintages of the years 69 and 70, intimates to us that Aumar-i-Obeidullah presided over its administration.¹

No. 28. **سم دد**.—The single specimen of this monogram, which I have copied under No. 28, is in scarcely a sufficient state of preservation to authorize me to separate it definitively from the original of the facsimile of No. 7; but the inclination of the lines of the leading letter, still visible, give it a decided appearance of an **د**.

No. 29. **سو دد**.—I refrain from making any extended remarks upon this mint, as I am not quite satisfied with the reading; still I feel bound to affirm the correctness of my own copies from the originals; but, as has been repeatedly noticed, the similitude of the forms of **د** and **س** is one of the real difficulties of the later numismatic Pehlvi, when it is necessary to discriminate, not the actual semblance, but the original intent, for the due expression of which the imperfect knowledge or careless execution of the die-sinker has proved insufficient.²

¹ As purely conjectural readings, a choice of *Sad Hormuz*, *Sad Behmen*—both names of revenue divisions under the Arabs—might be suggested (see *Asiatic Journal*, 1839).

² Should **د** (S) prove the correct letter, it might be a question whether the monogram could not claim to represent **سوسن**. *Tabari* distinguishes this city very plainly in the following passages—

و هرمزان بشهري شد از اهواز كه آنرا سوق الاهواز خواندندي و شهري اصلي ميانه بادشاهيست * * *
و از اهواز چهار شهر بدست او مانده بود يكي رام هرمز كه او دروي نشسته بود و ديكر تستر و سيوم سوسن و چهارم جندشاور و ان شهرها كه بدست مسلمانان بود سوق

الاهواز بزرگترين بود MS., Roynl Asiatic Society, 99.

Abulfeda, عماد. Istakhrf, Tab. VIII. No. 55.

No. 30. $\text{شې} = \text{شې}$.—I have little hesitation in attributing this mint-mark to the ancient "Shíz," the Atropatenian Ecbatana (Canzaca), the Sassanian capital of Azerbáján, and now Takht-i-Soleiman. Major Rawlinson, in his admirable paper on the identification of this city,¹ has entered so elaborately into the geographical question, and so thoroughly exhausted all that Oriental authors have contributed towards our knowledge, that nothing remains to be said on these points. I have merely to trace the numismatic progress of the monetary sign of the once great capital of Media.

The earliest appearance of this mint-mark is on a coin of Varahrán IV., whose money, as I have previously remarked, first introduces us to the practice of inscribing on the piece a record of its place of mintage. On this occasion we find the name of the mint-city expressed in its full integrity. The two letters $\text{شې} = \text{شې}$, which subsequently become the standard mint-monogram, are placed to the left of the flame which surmounts the altar; and to the right of the fire, or in what would constitute a lower and succeeding line in the order of reading, are figured the concluding letters $\text{زي} = \text{زي}$. I should have hesitated somewhat in joining together these separate portions of the name, had I not a most apposite instance on the coinage of the king next on the list, which seems fully to authorize the association. The engraving of the coin of Yezdegird I., in M. de Longpérier's *Plato VII. fig. 2*, exhibits a precisely similar division of the monogram I have classed as the third outline of No. 14, in the detail of Sassanian mints: here we find the two B's [بب] to the left of the flame, and the succeeding A [ا] to the right of that object.

The monogram شې is first seen occupying its proper position—in the portion of the reverse field permanently appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint—on a medal of Feroz: henceforth it becomes sufficiently common on Sassanian money; and, finally, it is met with on coins apparently of the Arab period, or those bearing the name of $\text{سعد بن} = \text{سعد}$ and having the word $\text{عبد} = \text{عبد}$ inscribed on the margin, of which mintage we have specimens bearing the several dates of 18—25, 26, 27—31, 32, &c.

No. 31. $\text{ك} = \text{ك}$ (From a coin of Kobád—*N. Bland, Esq.*).—I should have had some reserve in quoting this unique initial-syllable,

¹ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. X. 1840.

as distinguished from the common form of **و** = **𐬯**, had I not met with two instances of its use, at the commencement of a name(?), which reads in full **و** **𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎** = **و** **𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎**. On the first occasion, the word is found on a coin of Varáhrán IV. (*Kirmán Sháh*), and it is arranged within the field of the piece after the same manner as the **𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎** in No. 30, just noticed; the **و** being to the left of the altar-flame, and the **𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎** appearing to the right of that object. The word recurs on a medal¹ of the succeeding monarch (Yezdegird I.),

¹ As this coin is of considerable interest, both for the superiority of the execution of its dies and for the novelty and unusual fulness of its legends, I transcribe the latter in modern Pehlvi.

OBVERSE.

𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎

REVERSE.

𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎
𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎

The name of Yezdegird commences the circular intra-marginal scroll, which continues, as above arranged, around the field; the word *Atishi* occupying the space immediately at the top of the piece, above the flame of the fire-altar. I have been careful in distinguishing in my mere servile transcript the R's and L's, the former of which are represented in the original by **𐬀**, which sign, it must be remembered, answers equally for the modern letter **و**. The letter L **𐬀** I use as the equivalent of the Sassanian **𐬀**. It will be seen that I adopt a different letter for the initial of the term (title?) *Lamashtari*, as found on the reverse. I do so strictly in accordance with the outlines employed in my medallie text; but the letter in question may fairly be taken for an **𐬀**. Of the other examples of this word I may note the following:

British Museum Coin.


𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎

One of Colonel Rawlinson's duplicates.


𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 | 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎


Generally **𐬀** may be accepted as the favourite reading, as the word is by no means of uncommon occurrence, though it is seldom perfectly expressed. It will be seen from this that I do not coincide in Mordtmann's interpretation of *Rastachi*. In the same manner I must explain that I have rendered the third letter of the *Atishi* **𐬀** = **𐬀**, in accordance with the form employed on the piece I am


the principality itself. In these cases the mint-mark occupies the position originally assigned to these records—the space to the left of the altar-flame. Under Varahrán V. the sign appears in the now fixed mint location, at the back of the figure standing on the right of the altar. Henceforth, this monogram is of common occurrence, until it merges into the more comprehensive expression of the full name on the coins of the Arabs, given under *e*, Plate I.

No. 33.  = مَدَاین.—It has been attempted to fix this mint-mark as applying to the town of Madain, the capital of the Khusrús; but here again I must object to the orthography, as the name of this city is invariably written in Tabari, &c. مَدَاین, with the short vowel *a*, and not with the long one, as would be necessary to make it accord with the monogram now before us.

The monogram itself is of rare occurrence, being seen only on the coins of Firóz.

No. 34.  = مَر.—I do not think I can well err in assigning this most common monogram to the city of *Merv*. From the time of Kobád the sign appears with regular uniformity, modified slightly in the outlines of its component letters, until we find it amplified into the complete form it assumes under the Arabs. (See *m*, Plate I.)

No. 35.  = نَهَر or نَار.—I give the preference to the modern transcription first in order, because I have not met with any example of this monogram that assures me positively that the second letter is designed for an *h*. The mint-mark is not of very ancient date, as far as the extant coins show us, inasmuch as its earliest appearance is on a medal of Hormuzdas IV. It subsequently becomes common enough.

No. 36.  = نَه.—This also is a monogram of later date, and is introduced to us only by the coins of Khusrú II. It seems to have continued in currency during the early part of the Arab rule.

Dr. Mordtmann has proposed as one of the readings for a monogram *he* reads as نَه the name of the city of Nehawend نِهْاوَنْد,¹ the

¹ Abulfeda, ۴۱۹.

scene of the great Arab victory over the Persian hosts. I do not see any obvious objection to the identification as applied to the mint now before us, an assignment which is, to a certain extent, supported by the numismatic evidence, and is clearly preferable to the alternative suggested by the same author of *Nachtshivan*.

No. 37. $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$ or نس is unique on a coin of Khusrú II., of the year 30.

No. 38. $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$.—The monogram ن is met with as early as the reign of Firóz; is frequent on the coins of Khusrú I., Hormuzdas IV., and Khusrú II., extending well into the Arab period; and is finally used on the money of Zíád bin Abú Sofián, under the dates 52 and 53 A.H.¹



No. 39. $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$.—This mint-mark dates only from Khusrú I.: it is of common occurrence, and the reading, so far as it goes, seems pretty well assured. I have not met with the sign on any proved Arab coin.




No. 40. $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$.²—This is one of the earlier mint indices of the series, being introduced on a coin of Yazdegird I. It is common up to the time of Khusrú I., after which it is entirely lost sight of. There is a degree of suspicion in this fact, taken in connexion with the initiatory appearance of the similar, and possibly identical, sign, No. 36, on the coins of later date, when we call to mind that in many instances the old $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$ became the $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$ in the more modern writing which preceded the Arab conquest.³ In this case, we must abandon the identification of Nahavend, suggested for No. 36, which, under the amended reading, would stand for ن instead of ن .



¹ Vol. XII. p. 288, and fig. 8 of Pl. II. See also "Le Genie de l'Orient." Bruxelles, 1849.

² See also, Longpérier, VIII. 5. Wilson, Ar. Ant. XVI. 5.


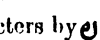
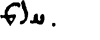
³ Vol. XII. 270. I am bound, however, to state that my best evidence of the use of ن for ن is in its employment as the initial in ويست . If it be allowable to read this initial as ن , and transcribe the date in modern letters as بيست , the argument above will be considerably shaken.


No. 41.  =  هرنی.—The monogram figured under No. 41 is incomplete in its outline, and I have no second example whereby to supply its imperfections. The original now cited occurs on a coin of Kobád, in the British Museum.

No. 42.  =  یزد Yezd.—I am not thoroughly satisfied with this interpretation, though I have but little to urge against it, and certainly have no better reading to propose. My difficulties on this head have been already stated at large (Vol. XII. pp. 281, 325).¹ I have placed the facsimiles now cited among the Imperial Sassanian Mints, because they occur on coins bearing the name of Yezdegird II.; but, properly speaking, they should—in virtue of the  بسم الله which is emblazoned on the margin of the pieces—be classed in the list of the Arab mints, as I have discovered no distinct instance of their employment on the money of the earlier Sassanian monarchs.

No. 43.  =  دو، یس، &c.—This sign first makes its appearance, in the form given under No. 43, on a coin of Khusrú I. Two examples under this reign, and one from a *B'ism'illah* coin, of the year 35,² are all I am able to quote of this monogram.

No. 44.—The monogram which concludes the list of Sassanian mints is met with only on a class of Imperial fire-worship coins, whose nominal legends are couched either in a very unusual form of Pehlvi or some kindred modification of the alphabet, to which we have not as yet acquired the key; and the mint-record is expressed apparently in a similar form of characters.

The Pehlvi word , though curiously fashioned, is legible enough; and an analogous marginal inscription on the obverse may be represented in modern characters by  or, as other coins give it, .

¹ These doubts do not now extend to the accuracy of the transcription of the fourth letter of the name of Yezdegird II. as  = R, which is satisfactorily confirmed both by new examples and variants in the alphabetical style.

² Vol. XII. p. 282.

ARAB MINTS.

Numbers.	Plate.		
45	a	بصره = بصره	Busrah
46	b	مومنان	?
47	c	مومنان = مومنان	Khubus
48	d	مومنان = مومنان	Khorásán
49	e	مومنان = مومنان	Kermán
50	f	مومنان = مومنان	?
51, 52	g, h	مومنان = مومنان	?
53, 54	i, j	مومنان = مومنان	?
55	k	مومنان	?
56	l	مومنان	?
57	m	مومنان = مومنان	Merv
58	n	مومنان = مومنان	Merválrúd
59	o	مومنان = مومنان	?
60	p	مومنان = مومنان	Balkh
61	q	مومنان = مومنان	
62	r	مومنان = مومنان	
63	s	مومنان = مومنان	Sejistán
64	t	مومنان = مومنان	Herát
65	u	مومنان = مومنان	?
66	v	مومنان = مومنان	?

This last is a new mint, which I have only lately met with on a coin of Obeidullah bin Zíád, dated apparently 58 A.H.

I have previously (XII. 326) ventured, somewhat in defiance of obvious readings, to suggest that the mint names classed under

Nos. 60, 61, and 62, in the above detail, were referable to the city of Balkh; the subjoined extracts tend so much to confirm my first impression, that I have now definitively adopted the identification,¹ at which Hydo had already arrived, by a different process of induction.²

آورده اند که عجمان را هفت آتشکده بوده بدین موجب
اول اذر مهر دوم اذر نوش سیوم اذر بهرام چهارم اذر ایمن
پنجم اذر خرمین [اذر خرداد or] ششم اذر برزین هفتم اذر زردشپ

* * اذر شپ * * و اذر شسپ * * و اذر گشپ
و اذر گشسپ * این چهار لغت متراد فاند بسه معنی * *
دوم نام آتشکده باشد که کشتاسپ در بلخ بنا نهاده و
کنجهای خود را در آن پنهان ساخته بود * *

اذر آباد * * این چهار لغت متراد فاند بدو معنی اول
نام آتشکده بوده که در شهر تبریز بنا کرده بودند و معنی
ترکیبی آن معموره آتشست چه آذر آتش است و آباد معموره را
خوانند دوم شهر تبریز را نامند چون آتشکده در آن شهر بود
آن شهر را بنام آن آتشکده موسوم ساختند و معرب آن

اذر باججانست MS. Ferhang-i-Jehāngīrī.

¹ It may be objected, that I have elsewhere (Mint, No. 4) proposed the ancient **𐭠** as the equivalent of the second letter in the modern transcription of **اذر**, and that I now adopt the Pehlvi **𐭠** as the representative of that character; but I should claim the option on the ground of provincial variations, had I not already medallie authority for the absolute commutability of the two Pehlvi letters. See Colonel Rawlinson's coin, quoted under Mint 9.

² Relig. Vet. Pers., p. 524 (Edit. 1760).

The first number of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft" of 1850 publishes a series of letters from Dr. Mordtmann, addressed to Professor Olshausen of Kiel, on the subject of Sassanian Coins. As the major part of Dr. Mordtmann's investigations refer to the Sassanian *proper*, or Imperial, series, I do not propose to enter, in this place, into any general examination of the points touched upon by him; but I feel myself bound to notice his laudable endeavours to illustrate the very difficult question of the identification of certain Sassanian mints.

I avoid reproducing Dr. M.'s facsimiles, which in many cases are decidedly faulty, and content myself with quoting his entire list, by attaching the numbers corresponding with similar outlines figured in the accompanying Plate (No. I.) to a reprint of his detail of interpretations.

DR. MORDTMANN'S LIST (p. 93, *loco cit.*).

No. 19. <i>Pars.</i>	No. 39. <i>Nishach</i> pur.
„ 29. <i>Si stan.</i>	„ 40. <i>Nach tshivan</i> oder <i>Neh avend.</i>
[not met with] <i>Ad erbeigan.</i>	„ 27. <i>St achr.</i>
No. 33. <i>Ma da</i> (Medien).	„ 20. <i>Karkisia</i> oder <i>Kadesia.</i>
„ 34. <i>Max onderân.</i>	„ 14. <i>Babylon?</i>
„ 8. <i>Su sa.</i>	𐭯𐭯𐭯 <i>Ninive?</i>
„ 9. <i>Sind.</i>	„ 29. <i>Kabul.</i>
„ 21. <i>Ker man.</i>	𐭮 ? ?
[not met with] <i>Zab lestan.</i>	„ 11. <i>Achm atana</i> = <i>Ecbatana.</i>
No. 16. <i>Zer endsh.</i>	„ 38. <i>Jezd.</i>
„ 24. <i>Zad riaspa.</i>	

As I have already given my own tentative readings in detail, I will not here recapitulate my differences with Dr. Mordtmann, but simply confess, with but little satisfaction to myself, to the validity of the following summary, which sets forth the state of the case between us.

1. I disagree altogether in the interpretation proposed for Nos. 14, 29, 38, and 𐭯𐭯𐭯.

2. I do not object to the reading, but am not convinced of the applicability of the identification suggested for Nos. 19, 33, 27, and 11.

3. I do not read the given letters in the same manner as Dr. M. in Nos. 34, 8, 9, 16, 24, 39, 40, 20. In 21, the facsimile inserted in the text is apparently an error for 32, which last unquestionably represents the letters 𐭯𐭮 = 𐭮𐭮.

As I have pointed out, without reserve, my objections to many of Dr. Mordtmann's interpretations of mint monograms, I am glad to have it in my power to quote, with general acquiescence in its tenor, the passage wherein my fellow-labourer rectifies M. de Longpérier's erroneous attribution of several medals of the Sassanian Monarchs.

Though this, like much I have avoided referring to, does not directly concern my present purpose, yet a just correction of so much faulty Pehlvi reading cannot fail to be valuable to all who would study the earlier suite of Persian medals as introductory to a knowledge of the later series, inscribed with but little modified legends in a similar tongue.

“Ferner kann ich Ihnen bei Longpérier folgende Irrthümer, bez. Zusätze, nachweisen :

“Pl. VII. Nr. 2 ist nicht Artaxerxes II., sondern Jezdigird I. Die Umschrift auf dem Avers ist :

Mazdaian bag Rastachi Jezdkerti Malkan Malka.

Das Wort Rastachi ist mir unbekannt, wie ich bereits oben erwähnt habe. Dagegen freut es mich, aus dem Text (Vorrede S. II. Anm. 3) zu erfahren, dass Hr. Tychem den Namen *Jezdkerti* schon ganz so gefunden hat, wie ich : ein Zusammenreffen, welches die Richtigkeit unserer Ansicht gegen Longpérier wohl sicher stellt.

“Pl. VII. Nr. 3 ist ebenfalls ein Jezdigird I.

“Pl. VIII. Nr. 3 u. 4 sind nicht Jezdigird I., sondern Jezdigird II.

“Pl. X. Nr. 1 ist ein Kubad vom J. 12.

“Pl. X. Nr. 3 ist kein Dshamasp, sondern ein Kubad. Die Aufschrift auf der Vorderseite ist *Kawat af[zud]*. Die Münze ist aus Ispahan, vom J. 18.

“Pl. X. Nr. 4. Die Umschrift auf der Kehrseite heisst vollständig: links *Chusrub. Tshetar si.* Chosroes 34. rechts *Iran. Afzud dîrefsh.* Persien. Es lebe das Reichspanier.

“Pl. X. Nr. 5 ist ein Chosroes I. vom J. 26, aus Susa.

“Pl. XI. Nr. 2 enthält ganz deutlich die aramäische Zahl *eins* 𐩢𐩣𐩆 mit dem Finalstrich. [This is 𐭪𐭫𐭬 *ten.*]

“Hinsichtlich Pl. XI. Nr. 3 behalte ich mir vor, in Wien, wo sich das Original befindet, die vollständige Deutung der Legenden zu versuchen.

COINS.

Among some duplicate Sassanian coins that have been left in this country by Colonel Rawlinson, I notice one bearing the name of Zíád bin Abú Sofián, which purports to have been minted at Beiza, in the year 56 A.H. Historical evidence incontestably proves that Zíád died in Ramzan, A.H. 53; so that the piece in question must have been struck, and in like manner the reverse die, used in its coinage¹, must have been prepared, some three years subsequent to his decease. This is not by any means the first posthumous coin of this governor I have had to quote; indeed, Nos. 5 and 6 (p. 228, XII.) commence an independent series (A.H. 64 and 65), of which the present medal furnishes, for the time being, the completion.

I do not look upon the appearance of posthumous coins as constituting any real difficulty in these inquiries, though I warned my readers from the very first (p. 257, XII.) not to rely too much upon any *later* dates that were at all opposed to other testimony. The practice of putting forth these continuations of an established coinage undoubtedly detracts materially from the complete value of coins as evidences to dates; but when known, and regarded with due caution, it should be but little liable to mislead.

No. I. Pl. I. (No. 55, Pl. III. fig. XVI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 317 Journal Royal Asiatic Society). Silver. Mr. Bardoe Elliot.

Obv. Left.	{	سپهبد	افروزت	
		نورمان		
Left.	{	نورمان	ایدرمان	
		دورمان	ی نریتمان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rev. Left.		دوینجا	دوینجا	A.H. 52.
Right.		ج	ج	Busrah?

¹ It would be a curious subject of inquiry to ascertain whether the obverse die was renewed on these occasions.

² It has been suggested that this monogram should be interpreted as $\text{دورمان} = \text{سپهبد}$, Silver. Apart from the deficiency of the requisite letters in the original, I note the serious objection to the rendering proposed, in the fact that the monogram in question is used on the copper coinage.

I quote this coin as affording in its well-preserved legend a satisfactory confirmation of the reading formerly proposed for the only fellow-example of the money of this governor yet published. I am, however, still unable to offer any further historical information calculated to throw light upon the identity of the person here named as Abdalrahman-i-Zeid.

No. II. Pl. I. (variant of No. 53, Pl. III. fig. XV. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 310). Silver. Weight, 43 gr. My Cabinet.

Obv.	{	محمّد بن عبد الله	ابدولا امير	
		الرشيد	ولرويشويگان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rrv. Left.		دودان	سي پنجاہ	53 A.H.
Right.		دہ	دا	Dārābgerd.

No. II. a. A second unpublished specimen of this mintage, lately purchased for the British Museum, bears date

Dārābgerd $\text{دودان} = \text{هف پنجاہ} = 57 \text{ A.H.}$

No. 2 (variant of No. 30, Pl. II. fig. VI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 302). Silver. The Asiatic Society of Bengal. Unique.

Obv.	{	محمّد	اوميري	
		الرشيد	اوبيتالان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rrv. Left.		دودان	پنج شست	65 A.H.
Right.		دہ	بصراہ	Busrāh.

I have previously given a coin of Aumar-i-Obeidallah, struck in this same year in Kermān.

The class of coins of which No. II. is a specimen have hitherto been but imperfectly described, as, when I published the notice of the four pieces grouped under No. XV. Plate III. Vol. XII. of this Journal, I felt some hesitation in pronouncing them, what in effect

they prove to be, anonymous coins, impressed with the ordinary titular designations appertaining to the dignity, but wanting in the identificatory name of the ruling Khalif. The previously made known examples, together with those I am now able to cite, furnish the following list:—

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. No. II., above described Darabgerd, A.H. 53 | } Moaviah. |
| 2. No. XV. (previous series)... .. „ A.H. 54 | |
| 3. Second specimen above quoted „ A.H. 57 | |
| 4. Nos. XV ₂ , XV ₄ , p. 316, Vol. XII. م A.H. 63 Yezid. | |
| 5. No. XV ₃ . ditto Kermásur, A.H. 66 | } Abdallah-bin-Zobeir. |

To complete the series, and bring under one view all coins bearing collateral legends, as well as to prove the legitimacy of the interpretation proposed, I would also cite the introductory coin of Moaviah, No. 52, p. 316, Vol. XII., and refer to the concluding specimen of this mixed series entered below under No. IV. These two coins will be seen to vary from the anonymous pieces, only so far as in exhibiting the proper name of the Khalif at the commencement of the legend, in lieu of the general term *Abdallah*, which was elsewhere much used as a leading prefix,¹ and was common to all as assumed “servants of God.”

The legends of these medals afford further subject for remark, in the expression of the title of the Khalif, which is seen to be Amir of the Koreish, and not Amir-ul-Muomunín, or “Commander of the Faithful,” as is affirmed by written history to have been the form officially adopted by Omar.² The term **امير المؤمنين** does not occur on the coinage of the Khalifs until the age of Al Mansúr, A.H. 136—158.

Having now assembled under a separate heading all the medals of this class, I would take this opportunity of adverting to a philological question that arises out of a comparison of the tenor of their legends. It will be observed that Nos. 52, 53 (old series), Nos. II. and II. α

¹ Ockley, I. pp. 174, 321, &c.: “From the servant of God, Omar,” &c.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله يزيد الي فلان بن
فلان, MS. Tabarí.

* * من عبد الله ابن عبد الله ابن جعفر الامام
التابع بامر الله, MS. Behaiki.

² Ockley, I. p. 121: “Omar being the first that ever was called by that title.” See also D’Herbelot, in *voc* Omar.

I identify the Governor, whose name is impressed upon the above coin, as *Mohammad*,¹ the son of *Abdallah bin Házim*, of whose appointment Tabari affords us the following confirmatory details:—

و عبدالله از پس نماز پیشین بنشست و امیران را [~]هی آوردند و [~]هی کشت پس پسر خویش را انجا امیر کرد محمد نام و او یار مرو شد و هم خراسن بشمشیر بگرفت و این بسال شصت و پنج بود و هم درین سال بود که خوارج بکوفه آمدند &c.

Extracted from an Indian MS. Tabari, in the possession of Sir H. M. Elliot.

In the Royal Asiatic Society's MS., No. 99, the passage varies, as follows:—

و عبدالله بن حازم بسر خود را که موسی بوذ بمر و خلیفه کرد * * عاقبت سباه هری بهزیمت شدند * * و سهمی و سیاستی در خراسان افتاد و بسر خود را انجا [؟ هراة] امیر کرد و همان سال بوذ که خوارج بکوفه آمدند &c.

No. IV. Pl. I. (No. 65, Pl. III. fig. xxiv., previous series). Silver. Weight, 74·5 gr. British Museum. Unique.

Obv.	{	اپدلیک امیر	
		ی وروشویکان	
Marg.		۱۲۱۱۱۱۱۱	بسم الله
Rev. Left.		۳۳۳۳ [؟ بوذ]	سی هفتات
Right.		۳۳	ه هـ Mint, No. 9.

¹ This coin possesses an additional interest in the fact of its being the only one in the entire series of Arabico-Pehlvi money that presents us with the name of *Mohammad*; indeed, it affords, probably, the single extant monument of the expression of the designation of the Arabian Prophet in the Pehlvi character, as well as offering one of the earliest instances of its then infrequent use as a commemorative appellation.

In describing this coin on a previous occasion (p. 319, Vol. XII.), I transcribed the legends precisely as I propose to do at present. I was not, however, at that moment so confident in my decipherment as to venture to place it among my other proven readings. My cause of doubt arose chiefly from the fact of the existence of one unquestionable coin of Abdalmalik, which displayed not only a varying orthography in the leading name, but whose affiliating legend continued in a totally different style from that observable on the piece under review. In the one case (No. 45, p. 312, XII.), the nominal formulæ ran

Abdalmalik-i-	{	د م ل و د و د
Merwánán.		س م ل و د

while in the other instance it was necessary to reconcile the appropriation, to the same ownership, of the following strikingly contrasted legend:

Abdalmalik Amír-	{	د م ل و د و د
i-Urúshúkán.		د م ل و د و د

My late investigations into the history of the coinage of this period have, as I have before remarked, led me to expect a much lower degree of either orthographical exactitude or general uniformity of style in the adaptation of Arab names and titles than I was at one time prepared to demand; and as the determination of one portion of the subject naturally contributes to the elucidation of the remainder, the definite appropriation of this coin to the ruling Khalif is almost necessitated in itself by the assignment lately made of the class of money detailed under No. II.

Among subsequent contributions to the general series, I must not omit to quote a coin of Hejáj bin Yúsaf, now in the British Museum, dated Beiza, A.H. 78. The annual date is slightly imperfect in the concluding portion, but is otherwise quite satisfactory in its import, retaining in full legibility the letters [د م ل و د و د]

The obverse die differs in its details from the original used in the coinage of No. 47 (p. 314, XII.), which piece was issued from the same mint in the succeeding year, inasmuch as it reproduces the entire Arabic legend which occurs on the margins of the coins of هوشت instead of the shorter invocation of الله بسم.

SASSANIAN GEMS.

I have but few observations wherewith to preface my catalogue of gems.

In detailing the brief descriptions of the devices peculiar to each, in their serial order, I have thought it might be useful to append a modern Pehlvi transcript¹ of the legends, whose facsimiles appear in Plate II.

Although I pretend to a very limited knowledge of the language itself, I trust that even a mere mechanical reproduction of the ancient writing, in a defined and uniform type, may aid those whose eyes are less accustomed to the vagaries of Sassanian seal-engravers, than mine have necessarily become.

My second, or printed list of legends, has been taken *de novo* from the original monuments, which have served in some cases to correct errors and omissions in the previously completed anastatic copy.

The majority of the gems or seals,—for to the latter class do they more correctly pertain,—seem to belong to the Sassanian period of Persian history. Some of those, whose devices are distinguished by the use of the Parthian cap, and an old style of writing, I should be disposed to refer to a very early epoch in the domination of the race of Adeshir Bábek, if not to a date even prior to the empire founded by that individual; but, generally speaking, the form of the characters of the legend will afford the safest basis for a determination of the relative era, due regard being always had for what must be considered local or provincial peculiarities in the fashion of the letters, &c.

The more modern specimens, such as Nos. 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, &c.,

¹ I have generally distinguished the $\hat{\text{J}}$ = J and J = J by their modern Pehlvi diacritical points, as the repetition of the unmarked J , which in its normal form answered for D , α , and Z , &c., tended to complicate rather than simplify the reading.

I have also taken a liberty with my type of making use of $\hat{\text{J}}$, properly X , to mark the J = J as discriminated from J = J , for had I followed the modern Parsi practice of employing one character to represent the two diverse sounds, I should have left my transcript less legible than the originals, for whose elucidation it was intended.

For the distinction between the J = J , and J = J , I have been obliged to rely upon the Persian type, and the obvious difference in the facsimiles.

may, I think, be adjudged to a much more recent period, and one considerably subsequent to the date of the Arab conquest.

In regard to the arrangement adopted in the classification of these objects, as I did not venture to rely conclusively on any epochal distribution founded on the form of the character, and had still less reason to trust my own most imperfect efforts at linguistic interpretation, I was forced to adopt the only remaining resource, and to group these relics after the devices they chanced to hold in common.

No. 1.—Large lapis-lazuli gem. Stuart Collection, British Museum,
No. 6423.¹

Devise.—Bust of a man, facing to the right; head surmounted by the Parthian tiara, behind which are seen the regal fillets: the hair is arranged in formally-twisted plaits; the beard also seems to have been curled after the ancient manner, though it is short in comparison to those of Achaemenian's: a large globular ear-ring depends from the ear.

Legend.—۱۔ سولہ سو روپے دینار وندو ۲۔ سولہ سو روپے
اشور پرک بگی بیھڑک زي اتور پتباجن

¹ Where not otherwise specified, the gems in this list are to be understood as belonging to our national Museum.

I append a notice of the three interesting games published by Ouseley, in 1803.

A.—Bust of prince to the right; head-dress and general appearance very similar to the figure described under No. 1 above.

Legend—Already quoted, under Mint No. 32, *suprá*.

B.—Bust, with profile to the right; the hair is arranged in close curls over the entire skull, but depends behind in plaited twists; the whisker is also plaited, while the beard itself is uncured; an ear-ring and necklace adorn the figure.

Legend.—**١١٥-١٢٠** ١١٥-١٢٠. See also gen 70.

C.—Bust to the right, bearded; the hair smooth, and in short curls round the temples and back of the head.

رہنما **مذہب انسانی**

² I am doubtful whether the 12th letter above should not be rendered instead of **ند**.

- No. 2. *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust and profile, to the right, with Parthian cap; the hair is in straight plaits; the beard is short and uncurred.

Legend.—لەندەم و سەمەو

راستی هوق (؟ هیتی)

- No. 3. *Device*.—Bust to the right, face in profile, with Parthian tiara and fillets; the beard is short, and the hair slightly curled at the back of the neck; below the breast and around the shoulders appear objects that elsewhere are seen to be wings.

Legend.—لومجەد و مەس

یەکتەچایەتەف

- No. 4. *Device*.—Bust of a male, to the right; the head is uncovered, but the hair is arranged in close short curls around the forehead and back of the neck; the beard is moderately long and pointed; the ear-ring and a close-fitting plain dress complete the picture.

Legend.—سەمەندەم و سەفەس

اوته-شتر-کەدان

- No. 5. *Device*.—Nearly similar to No. 4, with the exception of the beard and ear-ring, which are wanting.

Legend.—دەس و دەفەدەد

یاکو فی یومسەچی (؟ سەستی)

- No. 6. *Device*.—Bust, with close cap and fillets; the hair is curled in ringlets at the back; the beard is short; ear-rings, &c. Three stars are seen on the front of the breast.

Legend.—سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد

- No. 7. *Device*.—Head similar to the last, with the exception of the back-hair,—which is in close circular curls,—and the three stars,—which are replaced by a single star and a crescent in the field, located respectively on different sides of the figure.

Legend.—¹سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد و سەفەد

¹ I question whether the final and penultimate letters in this legend, as well as those to be seen in a similar position in an analogous word on No. 88,

No. 8. *Device*.—A female bust, nearly identical with that engraved under No. 12, Pl. III., with the exception of the hands and arms, which are here altogether omitted; a flower is seen above the front of the head, attached, as it were, to the circlet of the fillet.

Legend.—داندو داندو داندو
اتور دوهتي دوهشي


No. 9. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.— راتى ۋە ۋەتەن
ھۆمەتوۋى راتى ۋە ۋەتەن

No. 10. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.



Legend.— وٲم وٲم وٲم وٲم وٲم

No. 11. *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust, similar to No. 6.

Legend (imperfect).—

ought not to be rendered as the single vowel **u**. I have met with several apparent instances of what I should term the duplication of two final **u** = *es* supplying the place of an **u**, and, as in the case of the **au**, we have found the optional modification of the normal form of the letter into a character nearly similarly outlined to that now under notice (Khufus, Pl. I. c, and Vol. XII. pp. 329, 342, 343, Pl. III. 9. 10).

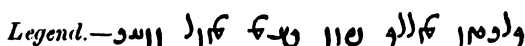
So we may fairly admit the applicability of a parallel system to a letter possessing so many analogous details as the **ل** evinces in common with the **ي**.

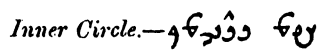
I imagine I detect an occasional difference between the open forms of the two letters, such as would accord directly with the originals of each, in the lower corners of the  being kept at a more direct angle than was requisite to form the more inclined lines of ; but, as we have seen in the case of the prototypes themselves, it will not do to rely upon these apparent indications.

In gems Nos. 6 and 40 I have adopted the Δ in my transcription of a nearly identical character, and I should propose a like reading for the doubtful letters in Nos. 31 and 38.

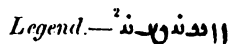
¹ See Gem 35.

No. 12. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

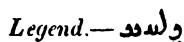
Legend.—
کریتن مورک یون شم منور نذای^۱

Inner Circle.—
افم یدیمک

No. 13. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—
نوسه شه


No. 14. *Device*.—Bust, to the right; the hair is arranged in small close curls over the whole of the upper part of the head, and formed into a large knot at the back; thin beard, ear-ring, and supporting wings, as described under No. 3: to the right of the gem is seen the Triquetra—a symbol which forms the leading device on the reverses of certain Sub-Parthian coins.

Legend.—

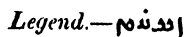
No. 15. *Device*.—Imperfectly-designed bust; the hair is in close curls; no perceptible beard.

Legend.—


No. 16. *Device*.—Bust, coarsely executed; the hair is arranged like a close skull-cap; the beard is long, and apparently pointed.

Legend.—

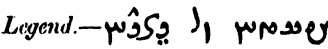
No. 17. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—

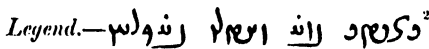
¹ Nanaia of the Indo-Scythian coins, (Artemis, Aphrodite,) the tutelary goddess of Armenia; Bihî Nānî of the Indian Moslems, &c. See *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, III. 449, V. 266; *Ariana Antiqua*, 362; II. *Maccabees*, i. 13.

² *Sháh*, is written  on Ouseley's gem, No. 3.

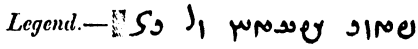
- No. 18. *Device*.—A well-designed beardless head; the hair is closely smoothed down over the upper part of the head, and is encircled by a band, below which are arranged a row of close curls, which are doubled at the back of the neck; the ear-ring and the upper portion of a close-fitting tunic complete the figure, which is supported by half-extended wings.

Legend.—
اپستان ول یزدان

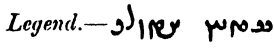
- No. 19. *Device*.—A gryphon.¹ See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—
یزدتی بوه ناترن بهکران

- No. 20. *Device*.—A gryphon. See engraving, Pl. III.





Legend.—

- No. 21. *Device*.—The Assyrian bull. See Engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—
ستان اتوری

No. 21 A.—I am anxious to call attention to the degraded type of the Assyrian bull, and the Arabic (Kufic) legend that encircles it, delineated in Plate III. as No. 21 A. It is difficult to say in what precise light we ought to view the indications afforded by the association of the emblem of that most ancient form of worship with the sacred alphabet of the Korân—whether the mythological symbol is to be accepted as indicating the continuance of popular reverence for its rites and ceremonies, or whether our Arab owner is merely to be supposed to have adopted for his signet-device a picture pleasing to his fancy, without reference to its intent and meaning. Of the two, the former interpretation seems to claim most favour. However, be this as it may, our

¹ See Layard, II., p. 459.

² The 8th and 15th letters in this legend are doubtful; the original may possibly stand for  =  or  .

- No. 29. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—۱۱۹۱ زکریا
۱۱۹۲ زکریا

- No. 30. *Device*.—A buffalo, &c. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—^۲ندلواؤ وندو اندلی
الوند شهید وھری

- No. 31. *Device*.—A humped bull. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend: 3——


- No. 32. *Device*.—A humped bull.

Legend.— 卍 卐 卐 卐

- No. 33. *Device.*—A lion, *marchant*.

Legend.— ۱. ۲. ۳. ۴.

- No. 34. *Device*.—A lion, couchant.

Legend.—

A second gem, bearing the same device, has the legend *Apastún-ul-Yazdán*.

- No. 35. *Devise*.—The winged fore-quarters and head of a tiger. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—راستی و هو متوی

¹ See also coin legends noticed p. *ante*; Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. fig.

^a A portion of this legend is inserted in the plate after No. 73.

³ I have transcribed this as *ملتاتان*, instead of *مرتاتان*, as I find that the Pehlvi word for *men* is *مردتوانان* [مردتوانان]; Müller, Jour. Asiatique, tom VIII. p. 332. At the same time, I am aware that *مرتان* must have been in very ancient use, as it is noted among the favourite Sassanian names in the *Mojmel-al-tawárikh*, *Merdán Sháh*, &c.

I would take this opportunity of referring to the occurrence of *WOLF* on the coins of Vácu Léva, No. 75, previous series.

- No. 36. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, below which appears a bullock's head of the same size: the foot of the device and lower scroll of the legend is filled in with an object similar to that figured under No. 70, Pl. II. and No. 70 A. Pl. III.

Legend.—لَسَدِي طَنْدُؤْمُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 37. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, coarsely executed.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي كِي

[كِي كِي طَمَدَسُ]

- No. 38. *Device*.—An ibex, similar to No. 40.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي كِي

- No. 39. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 40. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 41. *Device*.—An ibex, couchant.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 42. *Device*.—A tiger's head, full front.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

كُونَشْفِيل

- No. 43. *Device*.—A stag. See engraving, Pl. III.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 44. *Device*.—Two scorpions.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 45. *Device*.—A scorpion.

Legend.—طَمَدَسُ اَلدِي كِي

- No. 64. *Device.*—Star and crescent.

Legend.—**முன்னதொரு**

There are several examples of modifications of these devices, bearing the common legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*. Of these I may note—An eight-rayed star and crescent, with a well-designed outline of a bee inserted in the inner circle of the latter.


- No. 65. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—

- No. 66.** *Device.*—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—

- No. 67. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—

- No. 68. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

Legend.—*م* = 100, *د* = 10, *ر* = 1, *ل* = 1/10, *ق* = 1/100.

- No. 69. *Device*.—As outline in Pl. II.

[illegible]

- No. 70. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.¹

Legend.—*اندر لیس* و *کمری* و *اندر لیس*

ورهران زي مزوزي ورهرانان

- No. 70 A. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.


Legend.—*Apastán-ul-Yazdán.*

- No. 71. *Device*.—A cross. See outline, Pl. II.; and engraving, Pl. III.


Legend.—

¹ There are a great variety of types of this device, as also numerous subordinate modifications of No. 68, exhibiting the whole or portions of the standard Legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 72. *Device*.—A peacock.

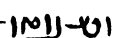
Legend.—

No. 73. *Device*.—A singular, long-necked animal, possibly a panther.

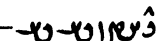
Legend.—

Another specimen with an analogous legend bears the device of a stag; a third has an ibex; while a fourth example displays a rudely executed winged horse, with objects similar to those seen in the lower portions of the fields of Nos. 74, 75, respectively—placed above and below the animal.

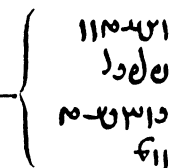
No. 74. *Device*.—See outline, Pl. II.

Legend.—

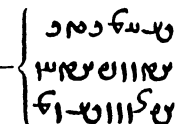
No. 75. *Device*.—See outline, Pl. II.

Legend.—


No. 76. See outline, Pl. II.

Legend.—

No. 77. See outline, Pl. II.

Legend.—

No. 78.¹ (B.) *Device*.—A bust.

Legend.—

¹ The gem from whence the above legend is taken, was sent me for inspection by a friend, some years ago. My note-book gives me the writing, but I find I have omitted to keep a record of the device.

MISCELLANEOUS GEMS.

No. 86. See Device and Legend (retrograde), Plate III.

No. 87. *Device*.—A bull. See engraving, Plate III.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 88. *Device*.—A well-engraved figure of a cock, with a leaf in his beak.

Legend (imperfect).—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 89. *Device*.—A bird, with extended wings.

Legend.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 90. *Device*.—A finely-engraved figure of a camel.

Legend.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 { In comparatively modern characters. }

No. 91. *Device*.—A pea-hen. (?)

Legend.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 92. A seal.

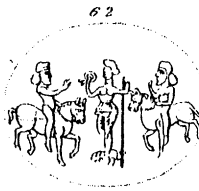
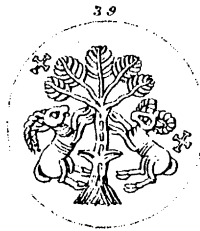
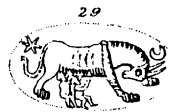
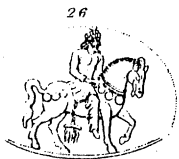
Legend (in recent Pehlvi):—

+
[𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥
𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥
+

¹ I must remind the reader that 𐭠𐭣, strictly *sh*, may be read at discretion 𐭠𐭣, &c.

SASSANIAN MINTS		ARAB MINTS
1. <u>س</u>	23. <u>س</u> <u>س</u>	1. <u>س</u>
2. <u>س</u>	24. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	2. <u>س</u>
3. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	25. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	3. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
4. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	26. <u>س</u>	4. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
5. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	27. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	5. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
6. <u>س</u>	28. <u>س</u> ?	6. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
7. <u>س</u>	29. <u>س</u> ?	7. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
8. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> [?] <u>س</u>	30. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	8. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
9. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	31. <u>س</u> ?	9. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
10. <u>س</u>	32. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	10. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
11. <u>س</u>	33. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	11. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
12. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	34. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	12. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
13. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	35. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	13. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
14. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> [?] <u>س</u>	36. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	14. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
15. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	37. <u>س</u> ?	15. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
16. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	38. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	16. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
17. <u>س</u>	39. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	17. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
18. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	40. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	18. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
19. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	41. <u>س</u> ?	19. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
20. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	42. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	20. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
21. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	43. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	21. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>
22. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	44. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>	22. <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u> , <u>س</u>

ARAB GOVERNOR'S	DATES	MINTS
I <u>س</u> <u>س</u>	400	<u>س</u>
II <u>س</u> <u>س</u> <u>س</u>	400	<u>س</u>
III <u>س</u> <u>س</u>	400	<u>س</u>
IV <u>س</u> <u>س</u> <u>س</u>	400	<u>س</u>





W Morley fecit.